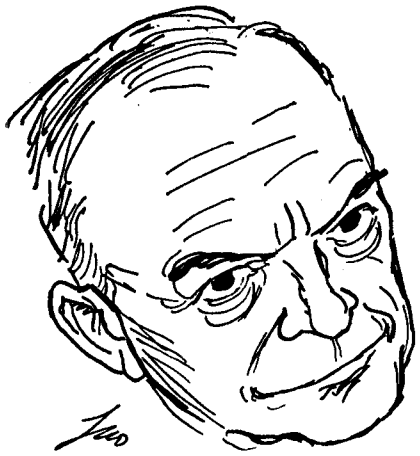
20c JUNE 30, 1952

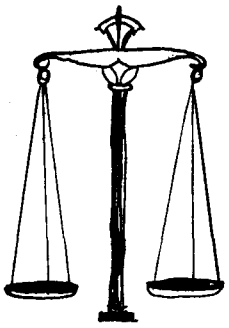
LATTIMORE AND "MIDSUMMER NIGHT MADNESS"—page 5

New Republic

GOP IN THE BALANCE

IKE OR TAFT?





TWO MAY TIP THE SCALES

Governor Fine of Pennsylvania, Summerfield of Michigan Head Largest Uncommitted Blocs—How Will They Go?

MAX LERNER REVIEWS . . .

David Riesman's *Faces in the Crowd*

JUN 27 1952

EAST TENNESSEE STATE
Johnson City, Tennessee

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Letters

They Look Better Now

● You wouldn't have believed, would you, that anything could make those awful commercials we used to hear on the radio seem not so bad, after all?

Well, the commercials on television have done it.

New York City F. R. EMERY

Arms By Any Name

● Are we to believe that both *NR* and *Time* can't tell a spear from a sword? Both Eric Bentley in "Graham's Journey" (*NR*, June 9) and *Time* of a few weeks back discussed Martha Graham's use of a "great thick lance" over six feet long in her *St. Joan*. Both Mr. Bentley's description and the picture in *Time* show that Miss Graham is using a replica of a two-handed sword, a heavy armor-cracking weapon of the Middle Ages. The large crossbar of the sword was often used as an impromptu cross, and Miss Graham's thrusting the sword into the stage would leave it as a cross. I'll bet you. Ask her.

CAPT. JAMES L. JACKSON
Maxwell Field, Ala.

Party Responsibility

● I'm afraid that wishful thinking has gotten the better of T.R.B.'s usually abundant common sense. The problem touched on in the "Washington Wire" of June 2, calls for greater reflection than is evidenced by T.R.B.'s treatment of the lack of party responsibility in the US Congress as compared with the Canadian parliamentary system. Your writer, exasperated as are many others at the Administration's failure to get good legislation from a nominally pro-Administration Congress, overlooks an important corollary of tightening discipline within the Democratic Party—why shouldn't the Old Guard Republican majority do the same thing in the ranks of the GOP? Colonel McCormick, the spokesman, if not the guiding light of the Republican majority, has already read Wayne Morse, among others, out of the Party. But so far the Chicago *Tribune's* editorials are not legally binding upon the Party.

Moreover, if T.R.B.'s piece is contrasted with Arnold Heidenheimer's "Wiley: Another Vandenberg?" in the same issue, the corollary becomes all the more pertinent. Certainly Wiley and Vandenberg have rebelled against the majority of their Party. Morse has done it consistently, and other "Republicans in name only" have bolted frequently. The Republican Party as a whole would be even more irresponsible toward the great issues of the day if the dissenters . . . were forced to align themselves with the majority. No one would be left to oppose Senator McCarthy, for example, within his own Party.

Of course the Democrats could enforce discipline or boot the rebels out. A conceivable horse-trade might even swap Byrd for Morse. . . . But what would this do to the traditional American system of parties which reconcile opposing interests within themselves. T.R.B. would seem to favor a system of rigidly defined blacks and whites. . . . It is the really rigid alignments that lead to bitter enmity and, in the ultimate, civil war.

Chicago, Ill. DANIEL SIMON

The 1952 Campaign

● David S. Ingalls, a Taft man, said the free-trip-for-delegates plan of the Eisenhower people is only "one example of the money poured by Wall Street into the Eisenhower campaign."

What Mr. Ingalls doesn't mention is the fact that the bankers and capitalists in the *rest of the nation* are pouring money into the Taft campaign.

This is a good example of the pot calling the kettle black.

St. Louis, Mo. MURRAY WEST

● Reader Harvey B. Schechter as a former Deputy Registrar of Voters makes an attempt to analyse (*NR*, May 19) the Democratic voters' feelings relative their party and bases his analysis on his experience as a registrar.

I, too, was a Los Angeles County Deputy Registrar. However, unlike Schechter I do not fall for generalizations that, more or less, are always fallacious as they may be either preconceived by "circumstantial evidence" or by wishful thinking. My registrations amounted to a little over 1,000. About 20 percent of formerly registered Democrats re-registered as Republicans, giving (voluntarily) as major reasons either their preference for Eisenhower or the old GOP slogan, "It's time for a change."

The vast majority of my voters (about 65 percent), however, had no party preference whatsoever. I, therefore, challenge Schechter's statement that "most Democrats are maintaining their ties with the Democratic Party . . ." simply because they never had any ties with any party. . . .

My only other comment, and I find myself in agreement with political scientists, teachers and pollists, is that it takes a lot of noise to arouse our voters from their political apathy in actually taking the trouble to register and going to the polls. . . . It seems to me that as long as the present curse of ignorance continues to prevail and our voters remain immature—we will have a long way to go in order to rid ourselves from or to prevent elections of such political monsters, as the McCarthys, McCarrans, and other Macs. This impression of political ignorance (and, therefore, impotence) I can report as my findings unequivocally.

Los Angeles, Calif. HANS A. ILLING

Congress Fiddles . . .

● With small regard for constituents, the country or the steel emergency Congress has played politics in an election year and succeeded in postponing a settlement of the steel crisis. Coalition Democrats have gone out of their way to humiliate and undermine the President. Under the Supreme Court decision they could give him the right of seizure but they have preferred to slap his hands and put him in a corner with the unsatisfactory Taft-Hartley law. I for one hope he will continue to refuse to submit to the political pressure of a few men whose job is obviously too big for them and who it would seem are thinking more of their chances of re-election than they are of their country's welfare. It would be in-

(Continued on page 4)

Bandwagon

Young Blood

Mr. [Paul] Hoffman stressed that . . . Eisenhower can bring into the Republican Party three to four million young people who are lost to the Party and have been lost since 1912, when Theodore Roosevelt was defeated for the Republican nomination by Senator Taft's father, William Howard Taft.—*From the Washington* Evening Star.

Civil Defense

It's illegal for an aviator to drop a bomb on Grand Rapids. A 1925 city ordinance forbids it without permission of the City Commission.—*From the Detroit* Free Press.

The Sovereign State Of . . .

An Arlington chiropractor and civic leader yesterday told Alexandria Federal Court he hasn't filed a federal income-tax return since 1921 because he didn't think Virginians had to.—*From the Washington* Post.

Our readers are invited to contribute; $2 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, c/o New Republic. Please enclose the original clipping. – The Editors.

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New Republic

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WASHINGTON WIRE

WITH ALL the emphasis this column can command we want to warn labor leaders of the stake they have in the 1952 election. If Republicans are returned, they are going to put into effect a ban on nationwide collective bargaining and a procedure to compartmentalize trade unions by geographical restrictions. This is not a guess. When the Taft-Hartley Act was originally before the House, such a provision was included, and it failed in the Senate by only one vote. Taft is quoted in the *Wall Street Journal* as being sympathetic to the so-called "anti-labor monopoly law." The US Chamber of Commerce and the NAM back it, and propaganda is being quietly circulated for use in the next Congress if the GOP wins.

To give industry similar treatment as that proposed for labor, big corporations would be broken up geographically, too: chain stores would be confined to regions, the US Steel Corporation restricted to a specific area. Of course anti-labor Republicans and Dixiecrats do not favor this. The Taft-Hartley Act already provides many restrictions on unions not applied to management. Here is one instance. The T-H law requires full financial publicity for unions, no such report from the US Chamber of Commerce. The Chamber gets about six percent of its funds from 3,200 local chambers. Where does the other 94 percent come from? The Chamber won't tell. If it were a trade union, executives would tell or go to jail; since it is spokesman for management, however, it needs no report of contributions from rich men who buy its voice to denounce foreign aid, high taxes, trade unions or the people's ownership of offshore oil. It is only one step from this system to the proposed ban on nationwide collective bargaining and nationwide strikes.

Eisenhower's strategy is now plain. He is going to run on "unity" and not say where he stands on specific issues. He began with a rush to tell his position, then floundered and pulled back. We actually know less now about where he stands on some issues than before he left Paris.

From Paris, for instance, he told Texas that he favored return of the public's offshore oil lands to adjacent states. Questioned in Detroit on June 15, the poor chap admitted he had never heard of the Supreme Court's three decisions that the states had no title. Then on June 19, at Denver, he reaffirmed his original position (backing the sectional grab) "to the extent constitutional." What does that mean? We are able to reveal that Ike tore up the speech written him for delivery at Detroit because as he told intimates he just didn't know what sleepers were in it or what it committed him to.

Taft meanwhile is trying to trap Ike on foreign policy with a snare baited with John Foster Dulles and "unity." Taft isolationism is revealed not by what he says but how he has voted. Dulles has been assigned to write a foreign-policy platform plank broad and general enough for all sides. There is no secret to this. Taft's front-parlor book, *A Foreign Policy for Americans*, sounds quite internationalist—if you don't read it against Taft's recent speeches and old voting record. Ike has finally brought himself to denounce Taft's attempted steal of Texas delegates. Ike will be a fool if he is persuaded on grounds of party harmony not to make clear his basic difference with Taft on foreign policy, the one subject that makes sense in his candidacy.

The disarming thing about Taft is his candor. It has been said by admirers that the only thing dishonest about Taft is his hair-part. It is true that the Taft foreign-affairs book is designated to de-

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ceive the gullible. But ask Taft point-blank about a specific issue, and frankness almost always precedes policy. This surprises many who have not yet understood that Taft is a passionate evangelist with a simple creed: repeal the Twentieth Century. Thus Taft doesn't conceal that he wants higher tariffs and stands for protectionism. You and I know that this might ruin Europe's recovery and wreck NATO, but Taft is not disturbed: what is Europe anyway? At a press conference here, June 20, he said that if elected he would immediately go about setting up more "protective machinery" for US industries.

Taft and Ike are stressing taxes they will save the public. Nobody is telling the public that when the election is over — maybe before — America must shoulder bigger international burdens or face major defeats to Communism. British here are warning that they can't carry the burden of policing the Middle East and Suez much longer. To avoid the shock that came when they suddenly pulled out of Greece official hints have been dropped. It's an open secret also that France needs help in Indo-China. GOP tax-cut promises are really a way of saying, "We'll water-down defense and foreign aid." After the election it may look different.

It was sad to see the Senate reject civil-service reform for postmasters last week. The Truman reorganization bill was killed, 56 to 29. Senators voted for spoils and patronage. Little Harry Truman, the man reviled so often for "low ethical standards" by these same self-righteous Senators, proposed three reform bills and the Senate stoned them all to death. Pitiful, too, was the sight of so many liberals voting for spoils. Paul Douglas did, and Hill and Sparkman of Alabama, and on the Republican side, Duff, Ives and Margaret Chase Smith.

Notes: We predict one more enigmatic statement from Governor Stevenson that he is not a candidate before the Democrats meet—very likely to nominate him. . . . Their slogan, "We need Adlai, badly."

Washington T.R.B.

CORRESPONDENCE

(*Continued from page 2*)

teresting to know how many of them, if any, have boys fighting in Korea.

And for the many of us who were glad that there were dissenting opinions in the Supreme Court's decision it is good to recall that Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes who was often called the "Great Dissenter" believed in the elasticity of the Constitution. "To rest upon a formula," he once said, "is a slumber that prolonged means death."

New York City MARGARET N. TAYLOR

Schizophrenics and Editors

● Mr. Wilson K. Wilson (*NR*, June 2) states that Sen. Joseph McCarthy habitually refers to himself in public in the third person. He states, also, "The only other people who do this habitually are schizophrenics."

To Mr. Wilson's list should be added editors and people with tape worms. They have long had the privilege of referring to themselves in the third person.

Oshkosh, Wis. SAM G. GREENWOOD

Federation or Confederation

● Mr. Conn seemed somewhat overzealous in his article on Senator Kefauver, "What's Behind the Handshake?" (*NR*, June 9). First, Mr. Conn stated that Kefauver foresees eventually "the same type of common union as has been achieved by several states of this nation." Then, before he could take a second breath, Mr. Conn denied that Kefauver had ever advocated "the surrender of national sovereignty."

Why all this fear of terms? If we federate, we *have* to give up sovereignty; otherwise, we get a confederation. "The several states" tried that idea too!

Chapel Hill, N.C. JOSEPH L. GRAY III

"Lost . . . and Self-abusing"

● Mr. Mukai (*NR*, May 12, "Sovereign Japan—One Japanese Speaks") is a sad example of a postwar Japanese, lost and groping about, sensitive and self-abusing. He utterly fails to see that the very reason for the success of the Occupation of Japan lies in the "impressibility" and the "submissiveness" of her people—traits unavoidable as well as necessary to live harmoniously among themselves in a small overcrowded country. It wasn't so much the occupation forces but the Japanese people who made the former look so good. And since when has the regaining of "self-confidence" in a people been a reason for "deep concern" and worry, unless it is to her enemy? And before deploring the few cases of "arrogance," think of the innumerable arrogant demands and words the people are even now subjected to by the foreign military personnel.

AN AMERICAN OFFICER IN JAPAN

Tokyo, Japan Security Forces

Zinoviev Letter

● I wish to correct two inaccuracies concerning the "Zinoviev Letter" in the otherwise excellent article by Percy Winner on the background of the Fechteler report (*NR*, June 9). The letter was not "said to have been found in a raid on a Soviet office in London" but was received by the British Foreign Office and the London *Daily Mail* by undisclosed means. Apparently Mr. Winner is confusing the incident with the "Arcos raid" which took place on the Soviet-trade delegation building in 1927. Also, unless Mr. Winner has some evidence of which I am unaware, the letter was never *conclusively* proved to be a forgery, although its authenticity is certainly more than doubtful.

Newark, N.J. ROBERT D. WARTH

Hoopes for President

● Most *New Republic* readers don't have to be told that the present-day corruption, militarism, lack of decent social and civil-rights legislation and the muddle of ineffective government regulation due to big-business dominance is based largely on the ill-suited and out-dated economic system under which we live. I would like to remind the *NR* readers that one thing liberals are forgetting is that to eventually change this structure one must start building or expanding facilities for mass education toward a better society. This means teaching people to think along political issues rather than choices between smiling generals or party hacks or wishy-washy politicos. Liberals should work hard to untie labor from the apron strings of a non-labor Democratic Party and toward the formation of a new non-Communist labor party. I favor Darlington Hoopes for President and the Socialist ticket as a forerunner to such a party.

Hartford, Conn. STANLEY R. BORENSTEIN

Trading Post

● I have many addresses of English subscribers to progressive papers who would like to exchange their copy weekly for the *New Republic*. Will any of your readers wishing to exchange please send me their addresses to 271 Worting Road, Basingstoke, Hants, England?

Hants, England P. DENNIS GOODALL

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VOLUME 126, NUMBER 26, ISSUE 1961, WASHINGTON, D. C., JUNE 30, 1952

New Republic

"MIDSUMMER-NIGHT MADNESS"

SOUND THE alarm! Man the battle stations! Alert all customs authorities and patriotic citizens! The nation's security is in grave danger! Owen Lattimore, it is learned from secret sources, allegedly is "making arrangements for a possible visit to the USSR and/or its satellites." Under no circumstances must he be permitted to leave the United States until this allegation is investigated. Heed not the fact that Lattimore heretofore has dutifully applied for a passport whenever he desired to leave the country. This time he might very well try to slip out unnoticed on a slow freighter bound for Omsk, disguised as a deck hand. Take no chances! Waste no time in asking Lattimore himself about his intentions.

So said the State Department in requesting the Customs Bureau to prevent Lattimore's unplanned departure from the United States. In one of the most outrageous actions in its history, the State Department adopted verbatim the McCarthy-McCarran process of making a loud public noise before troubling to investigate the facts. In so doing, it has corrupted all principles of procedural due process, and thumbed its nose at the constitutional right to depart from one's country without regard to one's political or economic views. Equally important, it has lowered the moral prestige of a government that professes eternal opposition to totalitarian techniques of this nature.

This fantastic episode comes with particular ill-grace from a governmental agency that has been the prime target of the McCarthy blunderbuss. The State Department, or at least Dean Acheson, should know better than arbitrarily to impose sanctions on an individual merely on the basis of a suspicion of an intent to commit an illegal act. The lowest type of criminal is entitled to and receives more consideration from governmental authorities than that. No pretense of an investigation or a hearing, let alone proof, was had before a public announcement was made of Lattimore's confinement to the United States. No fact is evident which would justify treating Lattimore as a dangerous traitor, potentially or actually prone to betray vital secrets of our nation. He is not a scientist, engaged in atomic research. He has no present access to classified information. He has not been shown to be guilty of any of the charges leveled against him.

The truth of the matter, of course, makes a story far less exciting than the Hitchcock-type of mystery thriller that such arbitrary action implies. Had Lattimore been questioned, or had the most elemental sort of investigation taken place, it would have been discovered that Lattimore has no definite plans for traveling abroad now or in the foreseeable future. He has given some thought to going to France or England to spend his sabbatical leave writing the results of his recent studies of Mongolia; and some time ago he was offered a year's lecture engagement at the University of New Delhi in India but turned it down. There is not the slightest surface indication that he is preparing to skip the country illegally, whether to go to Russia, a satellite nation or any other nation. Nor has he exhibited any characteristics warranting the fear that he might try to avoid the legal procedures which have been established for leaving American shores.

Perhaps, as Lattimore suggests, this is an example of "midsummer-night madness." More likely it is evidence of the hysterical blindness that has long gripped the Passport Division of the State Department, making it a hard core of arbitrary treatment of American citizens seeking to travel abroad. During the past few years it has adopted such foggy standards as loyalty to American ideals, guilt by association and conformity to accepted viewpoints in denying passports—all without hearings and without stated reasons.

Joe McCarthy has already pointed out that "it is only in a very serious matter that Customs Collectors are notified to intercept an American citizen if he tries to leave the country." From this mild beginning, he will doubtless use effectively this blundering action. If the State Department suffers renewed attacks on it arising out of the implications of the Lattimore incident, it will have only itself to blame.

As an inevitable consequence, the Department has already lost a substantial measure of respect among those who believe in fairness and justice. But far more serious is the drastic intellectual censorship automatically imposed upon all Americans who would travel abroad. They will think twice henceforth before saying or doing anything which might incur the wrath of the State Department.

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TWO MEN CAN DETERMINE

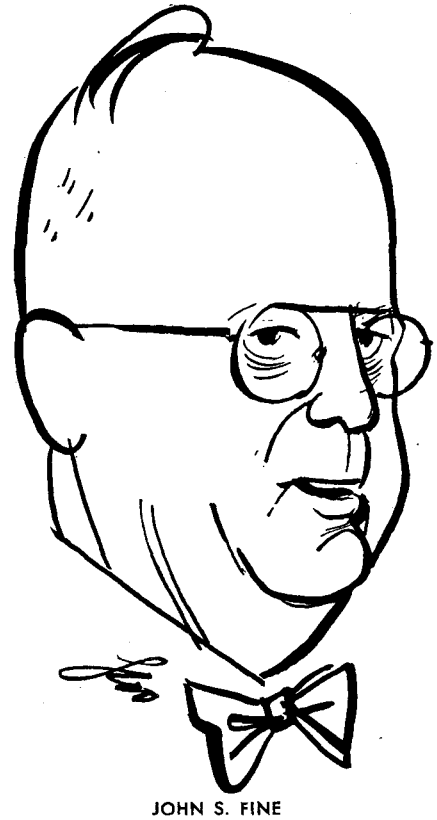
A Majority of 70 Pennsylvania Votes and 46

Gov. John S. Fine of Pennsylvania

If the Republican Party should again succeed this year, as President Truman has predicted, in wresting defeat from the jaws of victory, one of the principal actors will be Pennsylvania's Governor, John Sidney Fine.

Governor Fine, small, bald and jowly, is a colorless little man who holds some 32 Republican convention votes and who may possibly influence as many as 60 of the 70 Pennsylvania delegates' votes. With Sen. Robert A. Taft and Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower running neck-and-neck down to the wire, Governor Fine may well hold the Republican nomination in the palm of his chubby hand.

In this tense and heated pre-convention period, Fine's choice is a subject of widespread speculation. The Governor, himself, will talk candidly about almost everything else. He is being wooed and courted by some of the finest political artists in both factions. And Fine, by no means a novice at behind-the-scenes maneuvering, is happy to negotiate his votes for what they are worth. The curtains are finely drawn around these bargaining sessions. According to reports, Fine has been offered everything from the Vice-Presidental niche or a cabinet post to a fabulous-paying position as counsel for the Pennsylvania Manufacturer's Association.



JOHN S. FINE

The Governor's present role is historically consistent for the leader of a Pennsylvania Republican delegation, dating back to the time that Simon Cameron switched his votes to Abraham Lincoln in the second GOP convention in 1860 for a cabinet position. Pennsylvania's influence was proved again in 1948 when Sen. Edward Martin at the last moment turned over the majority of the Keystone state's delegation to New York's Governor, Thomas Dewey, and secured, in return, the national chairmanship of the party for Pennsylvania Representative Hugh D. Scott.

Recently, in the New York *Times*, Arthur Krock wrote that from the time of Cameron, Pennsylvania leaders have been taught to believe and practice these things:

"1. Don't be sentimental about Presidential candidates. It doesn't pay. 2. Reserve or scatter your support until it will make the contribution required for somebody's nomination, or most of it. 3. Have a good understanding with his authorized agent before you make it."

Governor Fine, a child of party and machine politics, is most faithful to these precepts. He has said a number of times that it is traditional to wait until the eve of the convention before instructing the delegates, and that he considers the selection of nominees the exclusive business of the politicians.

One man who carries considerable weight with Fine is Gen. Douglas MacArthur, an outspoken supporter of Taft and the Convention keynoter. Fine calls him "the outstanding American of this generation." He admits that he has met the General a number of times seeking advice, and it has been no secret that MacArthur is really the Governor's number-one choice.

There are many stories floating around to explain why this machine politician should be so captivated by the hero of the Pacific campaign. One must conclude that it has to be the personality of MacArthur himself, since Fine has never really been concerned either about issues or principles. According to one story, he was deeply moved when the great man romped in play with Fine's motherless young sons (Mrs. Fine died early in 1951) at the Governor's mansion in Harrisburg. Unquestionably, he was further thrilled last September 21 when he introduced MacArthur at the Allentown Fair and heard him tell a vast crowd: "This glorious state is just like the name of your Governor—'fine'."

(Continued on page 17)

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THE GOP NOMINATION

Michigan Votes Await Their Final Word

Arthur E. Summerfield, Michigan GOP Committeeman

SLEEK, personable Arthur E. Summerfield, Michigan's Republican Committeeman and chairman of the Michigan delegation to the national GOP convention, could swing the great majority of his state's 33 uncommitted votes, out of a total of 46, to either Taft or Eisenhower. However, intimates who have watched Summerfield in action over the years believe that he will try to avoid swinging the uncommitted bloc to either camp.

With executives of the nation's powerful automobile industry lined up behind both candidates, Summerfield may attempt to cut the delegates loose from the unit rule and allow them to gravitate where they will. However, the greatest weight-pushing is for Ike, and Summerfield may be forced to capitulate.

Summerfield is a good-looking, medium-sized, gray-haired Republican politician in his 50s who first latched onto his committeeman post in 1944 and for the last eight years has been almost unbelievably adroit in walking down a middle-path between the deviating and uncertain political inclinations of the automobile magnets who largely control Republican political fortunes in Michigan. This has been smart politics for Summerfield; it has kept him in office. It has been smart business, too, because his livelihood is the automobile business. He is head of one of the nation's largest retail auto agencies.

For years the automobile industry has been the most important source of contributions for the Republican Party in Michigan. Their executives are naturally accorded great deference. In 1944 and 1948, this was relatively simple for Summerfield. Most Michigan Republicans were Vandenberg supporters. This year it is different. Party stalwarts are lining up for or against Eisenhower or Taft with strong feeling.

Many of the automobile powers have not publicly announced their preferences, but there has never been any doubt where Henry Ford II stands. He waited at the railway station to greet Eisenhower on his recent arrival in Detroit, wearing a sizable "I Like Ike" button. According to reports, he has laid his sentiments on the line to Summerfield: "If Taft is nominated, don't bother us for contributions—he can't win."

Another active worker for Eisenhower is one of the sons of C. E. Wilson, president of General Motors. The GM press-relations department handled all press arrangements for the Eisenhower visit to Detroit. Some executives of the Chrysler Corporation are said to be for Eisenhower. However, vice-president B. E. Hutchinson, the most politically active among Chrysler heads and one of the most powerful as chairman of the corporation's finance committee, is an outspoken Taft man.

To date Summerfield has had little choice but to keep his counsel, and he has advised his delegates to do likewise. He has carefully given equal welcome to all real or potential candidates for the Presidential nomination. Eisenhower, Taft, Stassen, Dirksen and MacArthur have spoken in Michigan in keeping with Summerfield's plan, announced early in 1951, to let the delegates look over everyone before deciding whom to support.

As Michigan's National Committeeman Summerfield has received the widest recognition as a fund-raiser and as a Party strategist. This year, 1952, he is wanted by the Party chiefs for more than this, though. Two GOP factions are ready to go to far extremes for the delegate votes which he can control—votes which could well make the next Republican Presidential nominee.

Unpledged Delegate

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THE WEEK

EXIT BREWSTER

AUBURN, ME. *(NR Corresp.)*

You don't have to be a professional politician to win elections in Maine. Frederick G. Payne, an amateur, beat "the machine" twice in a row. Today, he is the Republican nominee for the US Senate because he licked one of the top professionals of them all, Owen Brewster, fifth-ranking Republican in the Senate and one of the nation's top GOP strategists.

Fred Payne was a rank outsider when he bid for the governorship four years ago, but he beat the Old Guard to a frazzle. He was a long-shot when he pitted himself against Brewster this year, but Brewster, in the first real election test of his Washington career, took a beating. The margin of votes, 3,100, has been termed "substantial" by no less an observer than Senator Brewster himself.

Balloting in the primary did more than write at least a temporary end to Brewster's public career. It settled control of the Republican Party in Maine and it dashed to pieces hopes of Maine Democrats for a possible victory in the fall. Governor Payne has been "titular head" of the GOP in Maine for the past four years. However, in fact, Senator Brewster has been the dominant figure throughout.

Brewster is of the Old Guard, which normally runs Maine. It was a rebellion against this old leadership; standing resentment against Brewster's embroilment with Pan American and Franco Spain; indignation at the Senator's involvement with Washington influence man George Grunewald; and a protest vote against his anti-labor stands which contributed to the Brewster defeat.

Also in the picture was antagonism to his unmasked attempt to push Maine into the Taft Presidential camp. Party members chose Ike 11 to three, with two delegates unpledged but favorable to the General, at their state convention. It was a rebuke to Brewster; a boost for the Governor. Payne, who was state chairman for Eisenhower before becoming a Senate candidate, appealed to the younger, liberal element in the party, the group that sent Mrs. Margaret Chase Smith to the United States Senate in 1948.

MIDSUMMER CARNIVAL

The legislative arm of the US Government last week indulged in one, long, humid and unbroken joyride. Up went the Senate in its powerful rollercoaster to come crashing down on President Truman's excellent plan for placing the nation's postmasters under Civil Service. Into the dark lovers' tunnel careened the legislators of the lower house to gaze at terrifying specimens of profit-curbing and to bring out a lacerated controls bill that reduced the anti-inflation structure to rags and patches.

In weather too hot for back-slapping, the legislators lazily expressed their mutual good will by back-scratching. The dairy land Congressmen wanted to continue shutting off imports of cheese, and only 25 tired legislators made even the motion of saying "No." When Rep. Burr Harrison (D, Va.) asked the complete removal of price controls from fruits and vegetables, his motion was endorsed by a "resounding voice vote." Rep. Antoni Sadlak (R, Conn.) wanted to allow big manufacturers to buy copper outside the fair-share allocation program; he was not gainsaid.

Not all Congressmen participated in the festivities. Only 234 were there to vote on the motion to abolish controls on all materials selling below ceiling prices, but most of those present agreed with Rep. Clarence Brown (R, Ohio) who said the controls program was a "socialistic monstrosity" anyway. Majority Leader John McCormack (D, Mass.) pathetically called on his followers to defeat a motion to cripple the Wage Stabilization Board; his supporters weren't within hearing distance so the motion passed 176 to 61.

"HONEST AVE" IN WASHINGTON

W. Averell Harriman showed last week that the Fair Deal program, though deadlocked in Congress, is a live issue in the slums and suburbs surrounding the Capitol. His victory over Estes Kefauver in the District of Columbia Democratic preferential primary was overwhelmingly due to a fighting appeal to the District Negroes, many of whom called him "another Lincoln," but his welfare program for government workers also brought him heavy votes from the white neighborhoods.

Kefauver's poor showing was the result of a much less energetic campaign and a studied avoidance of civil-rights pronouncements. The Harriman organization, working with implied Administration blessing, attracted the young campaign workers who paved the way for victory. Although both candidates are liberals, the Harriman campaign slogans effectively created a polarization in which the Southern conservatives were noisily drawn to Kefauver who feted him at all-white picnics. This repelled many liberals and almost all the Negroes. In heavily Negro precincts Harriman was the victor by such lopsided margins as 381 to five and 1126 to 80.

For purposes of the national campaign, the District vote was too small and unrepresentative a sample to indicate a change in the political winds. As the liberal Washington *Post* noted, entire Negro church congregations being led to vote en masse for Harriman probably killed his chances of picking up any stray Southern votes in Chicago. Kefauver's fate shows that his chances in the big Northern cities, should he be the Democratic nominee in November, hinge almost entirely on how badly Taft or Eisenhower handle the FEPC issue. The fact that the Negroes in Florida preferred him to Russell is not likely to cut much ice in Harlem. For liberals seeking a winning candidate, the Washington vote tended only further to confuse.

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THE H-BOMB HITS THE SOUTH

AT THE SPRAWLING H-bomb plant construction site here are concentrated all the economic and social forces which can make an explosive impact on the Old South.

The magnitude of this project leaves no doubt of this. Approximately 30,000 construction workers now are employed at the 315-square-mile site which encompasses three South Carolina counties. The total is expected to reach 45,000 by September. But even now, Atomic Energy Commission officials report, the building job is the largest ever undertaken in the nation's history. The dirt already excavated would build a barrier as large as the Great Wall of China from coast to coast.

Estimates of operating personnel to be hired when the $1.2 billion plant swings into production of fissionable materials were raised recently from 6,000 to more than 7,000. It is expected that both the CIO and the AFL will seek to represent them. With so many workers and their families flooding communities around the plant site, housing has become a critical problem. Sleeping rooms, apartments, even beds are at a premium. And trailers are being rented for $85 and $100 a month. Despite this, about 4,000 rooms are standing empty—at the taxpayers' expense. E. I. du Pont de Nemours Co., prime contractor for the project, already has paid out about $400,000 in guaranteed rent for the idle units under its cost-plus contract with the government, the AEC confirmed. The sum is growing greater each week.

Under its contract with the builder, du Pont guaranteed payment of $8.25 per week for each bed, whether rented or not. Weekly cost of the 4,000 unoccupied units, therefore, is about $33,000. And, under du Pont's cost-plus government contract, this is passed along the monetary cycle to the taxpayer. Company officials declined to discuss the matter. Union leaders, though, charged the situation developed because their members are "reluctant" to move into units "built with non-union labor." However, the AFL Building Trades Council at Aiken has instructed its officers to meet with du Pont and AEC officials in an effort to straighten out the issue. They acknowledge that use of the units would relieve the housing situation here.

Wages also are an acute problem at the project. The unions have sought steadily to increase them. E. A. Mahannah, business manager of the AFL Laborers' local union, points out that the unions here "can set a pattern for adequate wages and working conditions all over the South."

This was emphasized when, acting under the federal Davis-Bacon Law, the US Department of Labor announced the first wage scales for the project. These ranged from 90 cents to $2.60 an hour. The rates drew an immediate protest from Lloyd Vaughn, state CIO director. In a telegram to President Truman, Vaughn declared the announced rates "would have a harshly adverse effect on the economy of this entire area of the South . . . minimum wage rates in textiles and other industries of the region run $1 an hour and more."

Before the Labor Department's announcement of the pay rates, Southern industry representatives had been busy conferring with both politicians and government agency officials in an effort to "hold wages at the project down to the prevailing scale for the Southeast US."

This is learned from a confidential letter written by Robert Patton, managing director of the Associated General Contractors' branch for the Carolinas. The letter was sent to John W. Russell, AGC manager in Richmond, Va., telling of conferences with Sens. Clyde Hoey (D, N.C.), Olin Johnston (D, S.C.) and Richard Russell (D, Ga.):

When I submitted our recommended rates to Thomas J. Kalis, assistant solicitor [US Labor Department], his reaction was such as to make it thoroughly apparent that his thinking was in terms of very substantially higher rates than those contained in our recommendation. . . . Following this, I had a conference with Sen. A. Willis Robertson of Virginia, Rep. Graham A. Barden of North Carolina, chairman of the House Labor Committee. . . . They seem quite familiar with the inflationary practices and seemingly irresponsible activities of the Labor Department, and have been most helpful in our efforts to have the fantastic tendencies of the Department curbed.

As a result of negotiations some of the original wage rates have been hiked but large gaps still remain in the structure.

However, unionism clearly does not come easy in the South, and the campaign to gain representation rights probably will be long, hard-fought and difficult. Harassing publicity has spotlighted rumors and dirty linen alike. Although the company openly hires its personnel, news stories here insisted the "union hall" is the place to get an H-plant job. Headlines were giving a report that 57,535 man-hours were lost in strikes at the plant in five months. Actually, that represented only a fraction of the 32 million man-hours worked.

A major reason for the anti-union campaign is political. South Carolina's Gov. James F. Byrnes and other Southern politicians strongly opposed location of the plant in South Carolina. They feel that these out-of-state workers and their families will be on the side of the Fair Deal, opposing the States' Rights movement. Increased unionization of these newly industrialized sections, moreover, will mean as much to the South as bringing its wages and working conditions up to a level with those in other parts of the United States. Better wages and the increased personal dignity they can bring are sure to result in living conditions vastly superior to shacks, trailer camps and low-calorie meals which so many here have as their present lot.

Aiken, S.C. HOWARD LIPTON

Oak Ridge, Tennessee

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CHURCHILL ACCEPTS THE FUTURE

THE FAMOUS British talent for political realism has seldom been more clearly shown than in the decision of the great business houses to withdraw from China. Trade relations between Britain and China have existed for some 250 years. They began when the Honorable East India Company, operating ships under a Charter granted by King Charles I, obtained a monopoly of traffic between China and India. The *hongs*—the great, private British trading houses—came into being after the monopoly was abolished in 1834. Hongkong became British in 1842, and the growth of commercial power centered in China coincided with the rise of British world power.

Yet a Tory Government headed by Winston Churchill, undoubtedly the most authentic heir in modern times to the right to speak for the tradition of imperial power, has fully endorsed the decision of the companies. The assets left behind are estimated by Anthony Eden as somewhere between 200 and 250 million pounds sterling. They may in fact be twice as great; and whatever the sum that must be written off as lost, it can scarcely be afforded by a people in Britain's straitened circumstances. Yet, John Keswick, managing director of Jardine, Matheson and Company, one of the greatest of the *hongs*, is able to comment with monumental phlegm that it is "a natural evolution" to "make adjustments in a realistic manner" and to change the emphasis from "trading in China" to "trading with China."

It was the London *Times* which perhaps best put the step in its proper, politically realistic perspective. It said:

> The firms have been caught up in a revolution at once Communist and strongly nationalist, resentful alike of foreign capital and foreign employers. . . . Certainly China has need of trade . . . yet trade with the new China, for all her crying need for equipment, may be harder to achieve than was trade with the Soviet Union when she was building up her industries in the twenties and thirties. Russia then stood alone . . . China is not alone, and for many political and strategic reasons may rely as much as she can on imports from Russia and Eastern Europe.

This new British realism accepts as axiomatic the selfish motivation of any and all nationalism. Indeed, the gesture of the British has a special importance because it suggests a change in the traditional attitude toward foreign nationalisms. Over the centuries since the British developed their own nationalism and imperialism, they have been singularly willing and able to face facts, no matter how unpleasant, in almost any political context except foreign nationalism. Now, however, Britain is staging a strategic retreat from China for two reasons. Although Churchill is the heir to the ancient imperialism, he is by no means blind to the political and psychological realities of the modern world. There are other Tories too who seem to recognize that a nationalism as great and as strong as China's demands compromise from the non-Communist world. It must be accepted on terms not too remote from its own, as acting for its own conception of national interest. In this sense, the British decision accords far more with Nehru's policy toward Asia than with Secretary Acheson's.

The second reason stems from the awareness that the ability of Chinese nationalism to exploit its connection with the Soviet Union, to use as well as be used by it, creates a precedent for other new nationalisms. No new nationalism is alone; in varying degrees all can be used by (as the Americans see), but also use (as the British also see), the link with the Soviet Union. Hence, a new realism is called for.

The British expect to save little from the wreckage of trade in China. Intelligent men on both sides of the House of Commons know that, as economic facts shape up in the modern world, it is the British and not the Chinese who are being contained by the breakdown in trade. But farsighted men believe that accepting the harsh facts about China may make the facts less harsh elsewhere.

When the British statesmen (and British businessmen too) say that changing conditions call for a changed approach to the problem of the new nationalisms, they are referring not only to the link between Communism and nationalism. They also have in mind Egypt and the whole Moslem world from Indonesia through the Indian Ocean and the Mediterranean to the Atlantic shores of Morocco. In this vast area the Cold War is both a struggle against Communism and a contest among the anti-Communist powers for rights to succession to the crumbling ancient European imperialisms.

Here France has taken over the role once played by Britain. In Tunisia, in Morocco, and by implication in the whole Moslem world, the French refuse to compromise with the new nationalisms. And the great political force on which the nationalists increasingly depend is not Russia's but America's. It may be true as Cyrus L. Sulzberger says in the New York *Times* that:

> The United States would very much like to gain popularity among the Arab states in order to build the Middle East's defenses, assure stability on the Mediterranean's southern and eastern shores, and retain access to Arabian petroleum.

In Paris and London, however, it seems equally true that such popularity, if gained, would provide a link between these nationalisms and America which, if not directly comparable with that between Peking and Moscow, would nevertheless make the United States the dominant political and commercial power for many years to come. The French see a coldly realistic American nationalistic motivation behind it. The British too have resisted, as their attitude toward the Mediterranean command shows.

Now the changed approach in China hints at a similar change in the Near and Middle East. Instead of siding with the French as repressers of nationalism, the British may be starting on a competition with the Americans to gain popularity with the new nationalisms.

Paris PERCY WINNER

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THE CASE AGAINST INDEPENDENCE

by William Richards

ACTING quietly last week the British Colonial Office released the latest plan for changing the political make-up of another sizable part of the Empire. Following the pattern which has changed colonies into dominions, the new White Paper will outline plans for uniting three of the large, land-locked British "protectorates" in South-Central Africa into a larger federated union which will be expected eventually to assume an autonomous role. Ironically, however, this move toward independence from the paternalistic influence of the Colonial Office is being vigorously opposed by the Negroes who make up the vast majority of the territory's population.

The reasons behind this paradoxical situation were brought to light in London in early May. Meeting there was the officially summoned Conference on Central African Federation, at which were represented British colonial officials and white settlers from the three territories—Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. It is the result of these deliberations which was published in the White Paper.

But gathering in London at the same time was a more colorful rump meeting of chiefs and representatives of the 7.8 million natives who make up 97 percent of the population of the territories. They represented mainly the Protectorate Council of Nyasaland and the African Representation Council of Northern Rhodesia.

A rapid development of Africa's great powers to produce food and raw materials would certainly do much to ease Britain's economic difficulties. The African natives, however, see the plan mainly as a method by which the white settlers in this part of Africa could freeze white supremacy into the culture of all three territories. At present, they claim, the color bar is already part of the way of life in Southern Rhodesia, the most economically advanced and politically independent of the three. Native Africans are convinced that the scheme of federation originated with the whites as a way of making secure their economic and social domination over the vastly more numerous blacks in all three territories. The White Paper, last week, reenforced their fears. It proposed alloting only six of the proposed federal Parliament's 35 seats to Negroes. An appointed African Affairs Board would play the major role in protecting the Negroes' welfare, but its powers vis-a-vis a white-dominated legislature are questionable.

William Richards is a pseudonym for an American Government official now in Great Britain.

The black men of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland in particular do not want to join the proposed federation, which its promoters are already hailing as the formation of a new Dominion of the British Commonwealth in Africa. The natives prefer their territories to remain wards (in effect) of Britain's Colonial Office in their present status as British protectorates. At the protest meeting in London one of their spokesmen solemnly declared that they will never compromise with the scheme of federation.

London's Lancaster House, scene of many world conferences, was the setting for the conference to discuss the proposed federation and to carry forward the writing of a workable constitution for the fledgling Dominion that is contemplated. Both European and African representatives were invited, but the official African delegates who came to Britain refused to attend the session. Instead, they—along with an influential but unofficial delegation—undertook at public meetings to persuade the British people to urge members of Parliament to oppose the scheme. They insist that the economic development of their territories can be promoted through existing institutions and that political federation is not essential for economic advancement.

Thus London was treated to the highly unusual experience of listening to representatives of a dependent people plead to remain in their present dependent status because they prefer the present and relatively benevolent control of the British Government to their chances in a Dominion which would be free from Whitehall's interference in its affairs.

No doubt London has seen more protest meetings sponsored by colonial peoples than any other city in the world, but this particular meeting addressed by the black men from Central Africa was probably unique—and not only because they were begging *not* to have their territories released from their present status as British protectorates. This was the first time that native African chiefs (dignified, elderly men who wore apparently unfamiliar blue serge suits) had come to Britain to present a case to the British public. They had brought with them a few African interpreters and two young African men with college-bred self-confidence who spoke relatively fluent English. The white race was represented on the platform by two members of Parliament and two Church of England clerics.

The approximately 400 Britons who turned out to hear them apparently never before had attended a meeting like

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this one. Most of those who came were sympathizers with the Africans' cause and were eager to nod assent, burst into applause and cry "Hear, hear" in the British fashion as soon as the speakers would give them an opportunity. But they had more than an hour to wait before they could respond to speaking techniques familiar to Western audiences since the chairman introduced the three African chiefs first.

Each of them spoke of what was nearest his heart, and their interpreters labored manfully to translate sentences from native dialect into understandable English. But was there ever before in London such a gulf between speakers and their audience? The chiefs showed a remarkable lack of inhibition before their predominantly white listeners and liberally interspersed their remarks with excited gesticulations and high-pitched primitive-sounding ejaculations. They seemed not to have been briefed about conventional behavior during applause, and one of them joyfully joined in the hand-clapping after his own speech.

Their speeches themselves turned out to be curiously revealing in completely unintended ways. They had been introduced as the final repositories of power and authority in their tribal communities, but they seemed to interpret their relationship to the British Government as one between sovereign powers—Her Majesty's Government on the one hand and they individually on the other.

In the original contracts with the white men, they said, they had given up only limited trading and mining rights in return for receiving the protection of Queen Victoria's government. Now, in some way or other which they did not seem to understand, the white man was about to take obscure and fateful steps which would make slaves of them all. Some of their ancestors had been enslaved by white men, and things had gone badly with them. Therefore, would the white man please leave them alone and go home, or else confine himself to trading and mineral prospecting and abandon these evil plans for making slaves of Africans once again. They had no personal grudges against white men and could not understand why white men were bent upon returning once more to their rude practices of selling Africans into slavery.

After listening to speech-making in this vein for over an hour, some members of the audience—perhaps overcome with embarrassment—excused themselves and tiptoed unobtrusively away, perhaps to reflect moodily upon the wisdom of supporting African societies led by such inarticulate, confused and apparently autocratic old men. Those who remained heard a gracious and cultured lady —one of the members of Parliament—acknowledge the thought-provoking orations of the chiefs and then proceed in a most kindly and subtle manner to point out to the audience the significance of what they had heard. These men were true representatives of their black countrymen. They were simple and gentle folk, unlettered and untutored in Western habits of thinking, speech-making and doing things in general. They do not understand the fine art of representative government and would not be able to represent effectively the interests of millions of black compatriots in dealings with thousands of well-organized European settlers.

After having witnessed so moving a demonstration of this simple and overwhelming fact the audience seemed inclined to think less meaning attached to the details of the constitution-making which was going on at Lancaster House. The human beings who would be expected to implement the machinery being designed there would be too unequally prepared for the inevitable clashes over administration and interpretation. The three old chiefs, it seemed, had won the complete support of their thoughtful listeners in such a way as they could probably never understand. No cultural anthropologist could have organized the meeting to better purpose.

The two African young men who spoke later cast a little doubt upon this over-riding sense of the realities in Central Africa, it is true, for they were of a new generation. They cited statistics to support a picture of Southern Rhodesia as a land of mostly black people and mostly white landlords; they told simple stories of the cruelty of the color bar which most Britons have never seen in real life; they told with simple dignity and disarming flashes of humor that the money for the expensive trip to Britain of the unofficial delegates had been contributed by masses of ordinary black workers who believed the essential rightness of their cause would appeal to Britain's sense of fair play. They did not, however, suggest that they, and their Westernized ways, were more typical of their people than were the three old chiefs.

Britain will do well to weigh carefully the issues raised by this federation proposal. Its economic advantages as a means of hastening the development of Central Africa's resources might come too dear if they cost her the respect of colored men. Today Britain has greater need for the exploitation of those resources than perhaps ever before in her history, for in her economic difficulties she must leave no stone unturned in the search for food and raw materials. But in the long sweep of history she has also an obligation to posterity not to alienate black Africans from the ways of Western democracy.

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OUTFLANKING SEGREGATION

by Joseph B. Robison

THE SOUTHERN segregated public-school system has so far escaped full challenge on the constitutional requirement of equality. Facing a fighting legal attack by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and others, Jim Crow has so far shielded himself successfully behind the "separate but equal" doctrine. Nevertheless, a Delaware state court judge, Collins J. Seitz, has come up with a decision that is causing segregationists considerable agony. He ruled, on April 1, that the Negro and white schools are unequal, Negro children must be admitted at once to the better schools. He refused to force them to stay in inferior buildings while officials were making improvements to bring them up to par.

If the Supreme Court affirms this ruling, it will change the whole nature of the fight against segregation. That fight is being waged under the Fourteenth Amendment which prohibits racial discrimination by the states. The prohibition has been circumvented by state laws requiring segregated schools for Negroes and whites. The theory is that the schools are "separate but equal" and that, therefore, there is no discrimination. Almost uniformly, however, the Negro schools are grossly inferior.

The Supreme Court sustained the "separate but equal" myth in 1896 and has never since repudiated it. The physical inequality of the various separate school systems is, of course, obvious. But it can only be attacked by proving the inequality separately in suits against each Southern school district. This is an inordinately expensive process. Moreover, it results at best in equalization of the schools without removing the galling indignity of segregation itself.

Although the Supreme Court has rejected repeated opportunities in recent years to reconsider the segregation doctrine, it has at least been strict in enforcing the requirement of equality. As a result, segregation has been broken down in a few limited areas, as in the well-known university and railway-dining-car cases. Its step-by-step approach has been described as one which "looks forward to years of peeling layers of the onion and at last arriving at the place where nothing remains." The magnitude of the grade-school problem, however, makes this process most unattractive to the Negroes who must continue to suffer gross discrimination while it goes on. Segregation is now required by law in the District of Columbia and in each of the school districts in 17 Southern and border states. In three Western states it is optional with local school boards. In Kansas, it is permitted in first-class cities.

In its current attack on grade-school segregation, the NAACP rests its case on the simple argument that "segregation is *per se* inequality." Suits have been brought in Arkansas, Delaware, Georgia, Kansas, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia; preparatory steps have been taken in several other states. In no case so far has any court upheld the NAACP position and flatly barred segregation. A Topeka, Kans., case, one of the few where the Negro and white schools were in fact physically equal, was dismissed by a federal court on the ground that it could not overrule the Supreme Court decisions upholding segregation. Other cases have been thrown out on various ingenious technicalities. Most courts have done what the federal court did in a case involving Clarendon, S. C.

The Clarendon suit challenged a school system which was plainly unequal. Since that was so, the three-judge federal court which heard the case was required to give some form of relief to the Negro complainants. With one judge dissenting, it refused to rule generally against segregation, holding that the Jim Crow system was supported by Supreme Court decisions. Instead, it ordered the school authorities to equalize the schools but the court made it clear that they did not have to do so overnight; the defendants were told to file a report with the court in six months describing what they had done to comply.

That was on June 21, 1951. The NAACP promptly appealed the case. When the school officials filed their report, the Supreme Court sent the case back to the trial court for further consideration. (Justices Black and Douglas dissented on the ground that the report contained nothing new and that the segregation issue should be decided.) The lower court proceeded on March 12, to confirm its earlier ruling. It accepted assurances from the school officials that the Negro schools would be equalized by the beginning of the next term.

Meanwhile, however, the Delaware case was proceeding before State Chancellor Seitz. On April 1, he threw a bombshell.

The judge's opinion started with a preliminary rumble. Taking up the question of segregation, he said that he had no doubt that the psychological effect of segregation was injurious to Negro pupils. Nevertheless, the judge refused to throw out segregation. He ruled that the

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Supreme Court had upheld it in the past and concluded, "I believe that the 'separate but equal' doctrine in education should be rejected, but I also believe its rejection must come from that Court."

The judge then discussed the evidence as to the physical condition of the two sets of schools and as to the courses given in them. He found, as was obvious, that the schools for Negroes were inferior to those for whites. This brought him to the question of what relief he should order. The defendant school authorities argued, as usual, that the court should merely order them to eliminate the glaring inequalities of the school system. But here Judge Seitz faced a problem which the Clarendon and other courts had quietly ignored.

Take a child who is just entering the first grade. He will get totally inadequate first-grade education. Almost certainly, he will get totally inadequate second- and third-grade education. Even if he is ultimately given equal education starting with the fourth grade, it will rest on a weak foundation since he was denied equal treatment during the important formative years of his education. This loss is permanent and irreparable. It is also illegal. Thus the Clarendon decree gives judicial approval to the continuation of lawless conduct. As Judge Seitz noted, a court which enters such a decree says to the complainant who has invoked its powers, "Yes, your constitutional rights are being invaded, but be patient, we will see whether in time they are still being violated." Accordingly, Judge Seitz held that the Negro plaintiffs were entitled to immediate admission to the schools, saying, "To postpone such relief is to deny relief, in whole or in part, and to say that the protective provisions of the Constitution offer no immediate protection." This meant that, for the first time since the present attack on segregation began, a court had ordered Negro children admitted to a public elementary school reserved for whites. Not in theory or at some future time but actually and now.

Of course, Judge Seitz's decision will be appealed to the Delaware Supreme Court and perhaps ultimately to the US Supreme Court. Even if it is not, other cases have reached the high Court in which it will have to decide between the Delaware and South Carolina formulas. On June 9, the day the Court adjourned for the summer, it announced its intention to hear argument in the Clarendon and Topeka cases. It is quite possible that the Supreme Court in deciding these cases will adopt Judge Seitz's rule as a way out of the dilemma in which the segregation cases place it.

That dilemma is real. Even if you believe that the Supreme Court ought to decide the segregation question squarely, you can see that it is not easy for it to do so. On the one hand, the Court simply cannot reaffirm the "separate but equal" doctrine. A decision in this decade upholding Jim Crow would arouse a storm of criticism. The outcry would be deafening, not only here but abroad. Also, the Justices would undoubtedly think of how future history books would treat such an action. On the other hand, it would not be easy for the Court simply to wave its hand and sweep segregation out altogether. There is a real danger that such a decision would be defied by a whole section of the country. The Court has no power to enforce its rulings itself. It must depend on the executive branch of the government to punish recalcitrants, and it has no assurance that either the present or any future Administration would undertake that unpleasant task. Hence, if some or all of the Southern states announced their intention to continue segregation in defiance of a ruling of the Court, their defiance might succeed. There is reason to believe that this threat is not as real as it seems. Nevertheless, one can understand the Court's reluctance to call what may not be a bluff.

That is undoubtedly the reason why the Court has so far managed to find a middle ground each time a segregation case has come before it. Judge Seitz's ruling offers such a middle ground. It does not give occasion for defiance by the whole South. Because it rests on a finding of inequality in the affected school district, it does not apply to any other district until a court finds its schools to be unequal. Hence the rest of the South can sit back and wait for law suits. And if the one district affected attempts defiance by itself, it can be dealt with by customary judicial procedures.

Of course, such a limited ruling would not be as welcome as one overturning segregation. It would still be necessary to bring suits in district after district. But if the Supreme Court were to establish the Seitz doctrine as law, these suits would have two advantages which the earlier ones did not. First, they would offer a better chance of concrete results. The Negro plaintiffs, who now carry such a heavy burden, could feel that they had a good chance to achieve a real change. They would not get merely the leisurely building of new but still Jim Crow schools, as is being done in Clarendon. They would win the actual admission of Negroes to the schools built for white children.

Second, a few instances of actual integration as a result of court decrees would weaken segregation throughout the South. It would be difficult to insist that integration is impossible if it were in actual operation nearby. The important thing is that integration *will* work even if it is forced on unwilling school authorities by judicial order.

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IKE: AN INNOCENT AT HOME

by Edwin A. Lahey

ONE OF THE characters in *Spoon River Anthology* is the town bum who was drafted, only to be killed in the Civil War. In Edgar Lee Masters' poem, the spirit of this poor bum leers at his mossy headstone and mutters, "*Pro Patria*—what does that mean, anyway?"

The only reason for bringing the matter up is that Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower has now had three full weeks of his late career as a politician, and one suspects, after following him about the country, that he is not infrequently assailed by self-doubt in the stillness of the night, when the day's work of being eternally wholesome is done.

The first and probably most disconcerting fact about Eisenhower's life as a professed politician is the failure of the populace to strew his path with rose petals and offer him the Republican nomination for President by acclamation. It would be very difficult to dislike Ike. But the plain fact is that the crowds for his political homecoming appearances in Washington, Abilene, Detroit and Denver have never been out of control. They have varied from disappointingly small (Abilene) to reasonably large (Denver), but nowhere along the line has there been any complete and abandoned hysteria.

The orderly and at all times respectful reception given to Eisenhower implies very plainly that if the high-minded General is to snatch the Republican nomination from Sen. Robert A. Taft and the hard-bitten pros around him, he's going to have to fight bucktown rules and do some high-pressure dealing.

This is only one of the many unpleasant political facts of life that have been assailing General Eisenhower in his brief career as a candidate.

One of the things that dazes and irritates him is the manner in which he has been labeled as an arch-conservative on the basis of things he has said since his return from Paris. He has a pious conviction about equality of opportunity for everyone. And he cannot see why anyone should regard him as illiberal because he is opposed to a federal fair-employment-practices act with sanctions in it. There is no question of his sincerity when he says at a press conference that the "power of the nation" and the "public opinion of the country" should be marshaled to bring about racial justice. "The only thing I have ever objected to, is to produce coercive federal laws which in my opinion might aggravate rather than advance the cause of the thing we seek, the equality of all people."

Then the question is asked, would the General be in favor of coercive state laws to enforce economic equality? The General's answer should be set down here from the transcript of his Detroit press conference, since it reflects not only the purity of his aspirations, but the elusiveness of his mind in a pinch.

I think each state would have to have something that fits its own situation, and I have heard that the people of New York and Massachusetts like their laws pretty well, and I believe that altogether there are 11 states that have these laws of various kinds. I am not sufficiently acquainted with the details of each, and I would want to study them before I would give my opinion of what the state laws ought to be, but I certainly would want to use whatever influence I will ever have either as a private or a public citizen, to get every state to be forward looking, and to advance the cause of true equality.

The General honestly can't see why he has been tagged as illiberal in his civil-rights views.

Eisenhower appears to be similarly amazed that he should be identified as a reactionary by his views on the Taft-Hartley Act. He was written down by management as a sound man after his Detroit speech, in which he cautiously criticized President Truman for his failure to invoke the Taft-Hartley law to enjoin the steel strike.

Eisenhower's amazement at being labeled makes sense only if you get a close-up of the General's non-factional innocence about matters that make other citizens react violently. On labor-management problems, for example, the General has a deep and abiding belief that a worker and his boss, when it comes time to split the money in the cash register, can and should go about the matter with "responsible citizenship," with a view to the welfare of the nation, rather than with hateful, violent and mutually exclusive plans for short-changing each other.

A society of devoted citizens who would submerge their economic, social or political prejudices into a mystical patriotism based on selfless love of God and nation may sound to most of us like something for the birds, but it's a McCoy proposition to Eisenhower, something that could be attained under the right leadership. Certainly there is in Eisenhower none of the hatefulness, the materialism or the cynicism that are so common in our daily lives. This dizzying purity of soul in a man

Edwin A. Lahey is traveling with General Eisenhower as a reporter for the Knight Newspapers.

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whose life has been spent in a profession whose basic tenet is to kill the enemy before he kills you is perhaps the outstanding personal characteristic of Eisenhower. If the Republicans at Chicago turn square and nominate a card-carrying Republican like Taft for a change, Eisenhower's nobility of spirit will be of little moment to the rest of us. But if they like Ike, the unswerving wholesomeness of the General is certainly going to raise hell in politics. Tom Dewey's 1948 wholesomeness was pasty and uninteresting by comparison.

Eisenhower's wholesomeness is reflected in two ways in the groups of delegates who have visited him in Abilene, New York, Detroit and Denver. The delegates who were for him from the start on principle come out of their meetings starry-eyed, enthusiastic about his virtue and his sincerity. The open-minded delegates, who see no reason to let principle conflict with patronage, come away still open-minded. The General tells all the dubious professionals, who are looking forward to cutting up a lot of federal jobs for the first time in 20 years, that he is most certainly an "organization" man, that he could not have led an army without having the sense of organization in his bones. But he will not put anything on the barrel-head for a politician with a flock of votes in his pocket. It is hard to disbelieve the man when he says, as he did at Detroit: "I have never asked a single person to place me first in his preference list, and I never shall. My first and great obligation is to the American public . . . to explain my convictions and myself as well as I can."

This high-minded aloofness in the political bartering rooms suggests that Eisenhower may not yet be smitten by the bug that eats at the innards of most men who get into a Presidential race. And it adds some sense to Eisenhower's constant reference to his present situation as a call to duty, a reference that would be pretty stuffy if used by anyone other than this high-minded citizen. All the available evidence suggests that Eisenhower is in the race for the Republican nomination because he believes that Senator Taft is an unreconstructed isolationist at heart, and that Taft's election as President would turn back the clock of international co-operation.

Eisenhower's infinite wholesomeness serves one other important political purpose. It tends to minimize the fact that his store of information about the country he loves is pretty slim. In his overmodest and self-deprecating way, Ike sometimes comes close to making know-nothingism a wholesome virtue. The General made quite a point of his total ignorance of the problems of agriculture at an appearance at a breakfast of farm editors in Denver. In discussing the steel crisis, he reverts again to his unfamiliarity with the facts, and complains that there are too many conflicting sets of statistics for him to make up his mind. And in every situation where he pleads a lack of knowledge, he shows his instinct for organizing. In addressing the problem about which he knows little, he says, he would want the best brains available to guide him.

This instinct of Eisenhower's for the best brains available to meet a given problem brings up the delicate question of the quality of the men who are his guides on the great adventure in politics. To put the matter as charitably as possible, there are a few stiffs in the Eisenhower GHQ. This is apparent from some of the worn-out political clichés that sometimes crop up in the Eisenhower utterances, clichés that any intellectually curious man would quickly examine and reject for their obvious invalidity. To Eisenhower's credit, it must be reported that he himself became weary at the bilge that his sweet-talk writers prepared for him before his Detroit appearance. The General threw three different scripts in the waste basket, and decided to address the audience in Detroit off the cuff, posing questions that had already been asked and answering them in his own way. This was by far his best public appearance. He didn't lay the customers in the aisles that night in Detroit, but there was a certain genuineness about his utterances that was lacking in his soporific homecoming speech in the rain at Abilene.

It must also be said for the General that he has done a pretty good job of demilitarizing himself. He was doubtless aware of the traditional suspicion of military men in politics in America, and consciously or unconsciously has turned himself into just another old shoe on Main Street. Ike greets friends in the Middle West with booming heartiness and the familiar jibes of a townsman who has been away for a week.

Whether he is on somebody's front porch in Abilene greeting old neighbors, or at a country club with the local lords of creation, or at a private luncheon with the "sound men" of his press entourage, the General manages very well to be human, affable and completely devoid of brass. This quality is more than skin deep, one might add, because it has been tested in acid in the past three weeks. Eisenhower has had his hand nearly twisted off with hearty shakes. He has been ordered around like a prop man by the photographers. He has been harassed by the boll weevils who bend the ear of every prominent person. But the five stars never appear on his shoulder. Even if you're dubious about having so much wholesomeness in the White House, it's rather hard not to like Ike.

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(*Continued from page 6*)

After one of his meetings with Eisenhower, Fine was asked what he and the General talked about. "Practical politics," was his answer. "I never talk about anything else." A few minutes later a reporter wanted to know if he had talked patronage with Ike. His reply: "'No sir, we didn't discuss it at all. Personally, I am interested in principles, not patronage." Then he added: "At this time."

After all this one observer was moved to remark that it must have been awfully dull for Eisenhower to sit so long listening to practical politics. His companion replied: "Think how dull it was for Fine to sit and listen to principles."

Fine cut his teeth on machine politics. At 23 he was chairman of the Fourth Legislative District Republican organization. He has been the real Republican political kingpin in Luzerne County ever since. With the power which stemmed from this role he eventually became Judge of the Superior Court of Pennsylvania, his springboard for the governorship.

One of his political contemporaries in Pennsylvania has said, "Fine is the personification of the classical and traditional leader of a county political machine. His machine is one of the most effective, best managed and probably the most unscrupulous in the US."

Right now that machine is having some troubles. A long-time Fine political lieutenant, Morgan Bird, is presently awaiting trial on charges of defrauding the government under the GI benefits program. The mayor of Fine's home town of Nanticoke, Anthony Drier, handpicked by Fine, accused in ads in the Wilkes-Barre *Independent* of crime and corruption in office, sued the newspaper for libel. The *Independent* then hired Richardson Dilworth, District Attorney of Philadelphia and Fine's gubernatorial opponent in 1950, to handle its case. The evidence he presented served to make Drier drop the suit. Since then there have been loud cries demanding that the Governor, who has the legal power, institute criminal proceedings against Drier. No action, to this date, has been forthcoming.

Since the arrival of Governor Fine in Harrisburg early in 1951 the "Luzerne gang" has taken over the state capitol. Through jobs to Luzerne Republicans he averted a split which threatened his organization at the time that the then Governor, James H. Duff, presently the leading Eisenhower supporter in the state, chose him as his successor.

Duff, who was running for the Senate, picked Fine for the very simple reason that he needed a skilled political manipulator. In 1946, Duff was elected with the support of two of the most firmly entrenched Pennsylvania Republicans, former Sen. Joseph A. Grundy and National Committeeman G. Mason Owlett, who proudly ran the state GOP from the offices of the Pennsylvania Manufacturers Association which Grundy headed. Shortly after his election Duff turned against Grundy with such bitterness that the nation's press pictured Duff as a strong liberal. Yet it was Duff who supported Taft at the 1948 Republican Convention and Grundy and Owlett and Martin who swung the convention to Dewey. Conservatism or liberalism is rarely a factor in internal Republican politics in Pennsylvania.

The 1950 Republican primary campaign was intensely bitter. Duff said the issue was "Grundyism: government by a few, for the benefit of a few, at the expense of the public." Fine gave lip service to all this, but even before the election was over he was believed to have made deals with the Grundy forces, particularly on the county level. By the time the election was won, the split between Duff and Fine was complete. Any friendliness between them now is merely for public consumption. In private, Fine, who is not a profane man, seems to reserve all his profanity for Duff.

How many votes Fine will eventually control is yet to be determined. Cold political pressure is being placed on uncommitted delegates. In Philadelphia, for example, three magistrate court vacancies and one municipal court vacancy have not been filled. Fine has let it be known that they won't be filled until the GOP Convention is over. Right now he has 32 votes. Grundy and Owlett, both leaning to Taft, have around 20. Duff has been credited with a low of eight and a high of 20.

Which way will the pudgy little Governor finally swing? A major factor, of course, will be the type of deal he is able to work out with one of the opposing factions. Also he will want to ride a winner. But as a politician who is susceptible to pressures, there are strong forces which drive him both to Taft and to Eisenhower. A balance sheet of the forces would note:

For Eisenhower—Fine endorsed the Eisenhower slate in the Presidential preference primary in Allegheny County (Pittsburgh), "out of deference" to Duff, he said. The fact that State Sen. Harvey Taylor, the Republican State Chairman, is considered an Eisenhower man is believed significant. However, Taylor is not the strong man. He is the one who must bow to Fine's final decision. . . . The Presidential preference vote made Eisenhower look good, but Fine, himself, has stated that it is not a factor. . . .

For Taft—Taft supporters Grundy and Owlett have rendered strong support to Fine, particularly in the fight for a state income tax. They have tremendous financial and political power in the state which he cannot afford to buck. . . . Both Taft and Fine are machine politicians who understand each other and if issues could remotely be considered a factor, Fine would be closer to Taft than Ike. . . . Fine would almost go out of his way to hurt Eisenhower-supporter Duff. . . . Fine's idol, MacArthur, has opposed Eisenhower while Taft has reportedly offered the Pacific hero the position of Secretary of Defense in his cabinet. . . . Aside from Chairman Taylor, almost every political associate of Fine appears to be in Taft's camp.

Unless Governor Fine is able to work out an extraordinary deal with the Eisenhower people, most likely he will support Sen. Robert A. Taft.

If so, Pennsylvania National Committeeman Mason Owlett may finally prove himself a prophet with his familiar election cry, "This is the last call to dinner for the Republican Party."

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LITERATURE AND THE ARTS

NO MONSTER RALLY

FACES IN THE CROWD, by David Riesman (Yale University Press; $5).

DAVID RIESMAN'S *Faces in the Crowd* is at once supplement, source-book, and case-book for his *The Lonely Crowd* (1950). The two books together mark the emergence of a considerable talent in American social thinking. Bound neither to class-analysis nor to Freudianism, unbemused by attitude measurement, able to make his way among the social sciences without worrying overmuch about the spike-fences marking them off, Riesman has a spaciousness of outlook which brings great promise to American social theory.

Obviously he has borrowed to good effect from the older writers. You will find in him ideas from Tocqueville and Veblen, Fromm and Lasswell. But he has made his own harvest. He has gathered them inside a frame of his own—the character-division into the "inner-directed" and "other-directed" types which has already been discussed widely.

Like every such classification, it is a good mnemonic device and a good set of tags, but the real interest of the books lies less in how valid the types are than in how he maps out all kinds of interrelations between personality-development in America and the American cultural patterns. Riesman has somehow managed to become a sophisticated anatomist of the American outlook, and his work is strewn with insights which make every page crackle as you read it. Along with these insights there is an ironic style and a full-blown vocabulary that he has stamped as his own. The phrases—"inside dopesters," "indignants," "false personalization," "the oversteered child," the "personality market"—echo in the mind and create that artificial yet familiar universe which only the inventive social thinkers and the novelists of power have the force to call into being.

I am grateful that the second volume makes almost no use of the weakest part of the first one—the stuff on the population cycle. As is well-known, Riesman set up three main types of character: the "tradition-directed" (which follows rigid rules derived from the culture, as in feudal societies), the "inner-directed" (which steers by an "internalized" set of goals, as if by a gyroscope sensitive to codes of conduct), and the "other-directed" (which uses a kind of radar to locate other people's opinions and steers by them). In seeking to explain the movement from the first two to the third, Riesman fixes upon the population curve, and the increase of social tensions that goes along with it as it reaches its peak and then levels off, so that the individual comes to live ever more outwardly and by the image of himself that he sees in the mirror of others.

In his new book Riesman gives us a gallery of American portraits, with a running commentary on them. These are persons we have seen in our own wanderings around America—two women from Harlem, a handful of teen-agers at a vocational trade school in Connecticut, three boys from a New England prep school which trains the social elite, a cultured woman college graduate and a middle-aged man working hard to keep his upper middle-class wife and daughters on the consumption level they demand, four boys from a progressive school in California who are heavily oriented toward the left, three graduate students, a young woman who is a dental hygienist and who is a trained "pick-up" for her interviewer, and a Bryn Mawr graduate who is a teacher of psychology. If Riesman had tried to present this group as a cross-section sampling of America, you could make hash of it. Too many cases come from academic circles, and there are too few from the depressed economic groups; except for the Harlemites and the adolescents at the trade school, most of them are part of the articulate middle-class or even the intellectuals; there are not enough examples either of the small-town mind or of the adult power-groups. Yet Riesman is disarming in refusing to make any pretensions toward a cross-section sample. He recognizes also that the interviews were often too brief to achieve any portraiture in depth, that they are ragged and uneven in quality, and that we have at best only shaky instruments for interpreting them. What is impressive is that out of such imperfect material he has managed somehow to compose a rich counterpoint of description and commentary from which we get a complex view of American society.

There is another kind of counterpoint in the book as well—that between the theme of personality and the theme of culture. Although America is not a tradition-directed society, he finds in this volume a number of people in whom there are still strongly tradition-directed traits. They are the members of the ethnic groups—Negroes, Poles, Italians—who carry over some of the customs of their groups into American life. Perhaps it would be better to say that they show not so much the full contours of "other-directed" traits, but the torn stumps of them, where they are being broken off. Curiously the only portraits that Riesman puts under the "other-directed" category are those of the liberal Jewish students from the Western progressive school, the graduate students, and the dental nurse and psychology teacher—and even these are only partially other-directed. Evidently the withering portrait of an America of Babbitts, joiners, and imitators which many reviewers felt they saw in Riesman's first volume, and which seemed to them a major social criticism of America, turns out on closer examination to be less withering than they thought. If you take a random handful of Americans as Riesman did, there are strong residues of tradition-direction and little of an unqualified other-direction.

As for the inner-directed type, they too are not to be found in any unquali-

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fied way. They still hold to their internalized codes, but they are under strong and continuous pressure to dissolve them. And in a number of instances even these codes are not genuinely internalized goals derived from parents or teachers, but techniques which they have learned from their peers. In fact, Riesman underscores heavily—following Harry Stack Sullivan and Dollard—the extent to which character formation in America is a process of learning from one's peer-group the techniques for maintaining one's status and exploiting one's opportunities.

The American personality seems far too complex to be put into any single scheme, or to be explained by the operation of so-called scientific laws. There are not so much types of personality in America, as there are gradations of types that run into each other. The very words that Riesman is fondest of using—words like "gradients," "nuances," "moods," "hierarchies," "paradoxes," "ambiguities,"—conveys this sense more clearly than anything.

For me Riesman's books are more valuable for the light they shed on American culture than they are for the delineation of personality types. He has given us the best picture thus far of the role of conformism in American life—the piling up of timidities and anxieties, the anxious response that people make to the expectations of their culture and especially of the people in their "set", the conflicts coming out of the inferior position which status groups like the Negroes and Jews and Catholics occupy as well as the conflicts within the family situation.

But what is remarkable about Riesman is that, with all his awareness of the terrible burdens and pressures of conformism, he has not shut his mind to the choices that Americans have and the new vistas of experience and of freedom that keep opening up for them even after the older ones have been shut off. Riesman at one point calls this "the overwhelming experience of American mobility." It is time that someone had the courage, as he has, to speak out against all the nay-sayers who have been commenting on American life and to challenge the stereotypes of liberal social criticism. You can be caustic enough, God knows, about the real ills that American life offers, and the real ones are real enough. But they are not the ills of poverty or even of class-exploitation, or of the hopeless rigidification of life in America. Nor are they, as Riesman so clearly sees, the ills of American "popular culture" as embodied in the new communication arts. What we have a right to be anxious about in America is what the people whose portraits are in this book will do with the new possibilities opened up for them, by more fluid choices of marriage and career, by transport and travel and the shrinkage of distances, by the weight of the new leisure. Riesman is sophisticated enough to know that these are difficult problems, and that there are few people who have been able to generate the inner strength which can achieve autonomy in personal life and the daring of Utopia in social life. Meanwhile however, he has given us two volumes that will endure about the stir and mobility of life in America.

MAX LERNER

THREE FINE ANTHOLOGIES

THE OXFORD BOOK OF AMERICAN VERSE, edited F. O. Matthiessen (Oxford; $5).

POETS OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE, edited W. H. Auden and Norman Pearson (Viking; 5 vols., $2.50 each).

MODERN POETRY: AMERICAN AND BRITISH, edited Kimon Friar and John Brinnin (Appleton-Century-Crofts; $4).

THAT ANTHOLOGY recapitulates anthology is certainly still a law of literozoology. Occasionally, however, as in the three books here reviewed, the process does result in a mutation that produces a higher type of collection, or at least a sturdy new variety that will hold its own for very good reasons.

Almost any new verse anthology, of course, has one great initial attraction. It parades old loves in a changed setting, quickening and recharging our affections. F. O. Matthiessen took advantage of this fact by surrounding a number of these old loves—the legitimate ones, that is—by others whose distinctive originality had not yet been generally recognized. By this means, and by the exercise of an unusually sensitive and catholic literary scholarship, he was also skeptical of oversimplifying the term "tradition."

A learned, conscientious teacher, Matthiessen balanced against his own personal preferences certain necessary considerations: the continuity of that skeptically viewed tradition; the history of taste, not always a matter of pure progress; the representation of a writer in terms of his own goals and principles rather than the anthologist's. More than most anthologies, *The Oxford Book* seems a collection of meaningfully related single pieces, each of which gains authority as the choice of a taste at once independent and disciplined.

For the willing reader, Matthiessen's book makes a very good introduction to the development of American poetry. As he says, it includes for the most part only poets "with a fairly substantial body of work from which to choose." It is not a crowded book, yet the major figures are fully represented. Most important, it attempts to restore the long poem to its primary place in the hierarchy of forms. Again, it is balance that distinguishes this book from the others—balance and the ability to sympathize with the varying motivations of the separate poets. Matthiessen's wide knowledge enabled him to choose the right poem whether or not others before him had done so, printing the whole of "Song of Myself" and "The Waste Land"; but he knew enough to select "The Comedian as the Letter C" as the fullest statement, in a long piece, of Wallace Stevens' poetic perspectives. Similarly, he had a sure eye for Pound's significant earlier poems. Matthiessen was glad to "grant that the pleasure of savoring and comparing different periods is one of the rewards of a lively interest in cultural history." On the whole, his book occupies the happy middle ground between rigorous scholarship on the order of Clark's *Major American Poets* and the freer wheeling of the Alfred Kreymborg, Louis Untermeyer and Oscar Williams anthologies.

Curiously enough, it is just its "lively interest in cultural history," together with the attractive format and imagina-

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tively chosen selections, that is most striking in the Auden-Pearson anthology, *Poets of the English Language.* The introductions to these five volumes (Langland to Spenser, Marlowe to Marvell, Milton to Goldsmith, Blake to Poe, Tennyson to Yeats) have a life of their own. For the student at a fairly elementary level they serve some honest expository purposes, explaining the basic principles of prosody, for instance. discussing the function of allegory and its difference from symbol, making clearer the intellectual and historical contexts in which the poetry of different periods took form, and elucidating the important motifs which emerge during these periods. As one would expect, both the style and the thought are crisply original. Thus the editors on early blank-verse drama: "Even when Marlowe has developed his mighty line, one wearies of a meter so continuously fortissimo, and feels that the hero is a prisoner of the verse, compelled to be continuously grand and in a perpetual passion because that is all the meter is capable of."

The same perky—but not frivolous or hectoring — affirmativeness is somehow involved in the principle of selection. We see Dryden's "Song of the Zambra Dance" almost next door to Messrs. John Milton and Edward Taylor. We see twenty pages of *The Dunciad* ("the only poem in English which is at once comic and sublime"). We see Americans and their British contemporaries side by side, and some of the implications thereof are a little dizzying. We have long passages from verse-dramas to read, passages which, for many people, may provide their first insight into the amount of real poetry stitched into the gaudy fabric of seventeenth-century plays. Contemplative verse and the witty, worldly kinds that too often are given short shrift in standard anthologies have their place reserved here. It is too bad that, despite the editors' well-taken arguments in favor of a book containing only those works that are unchangeably accepted into the tradition, they could not have extended the same principles of unorthodox conservatism into the period since 1914. But they may have been right not to meddle with the unity in diversity so completely suggested in the collection.

Pending definitive treatment by Kenneth Burke of the motives of modern-verse anthologists, we may discern three quite high ones in the Friar and Brinnin collection: a noble didacticism, a desire to share good things with us, and a specialized interest in a first-rate job.

The didactic motive is probably the driving one. The editors want to present the poetry of our age compellingly—to display its best achievements and teach us what to seek in them. Their notes are packed with explications and with excursions into such "background" works as Yeat's *A Vision* and Weston's *From Ritual to Romance.* In a theoretical sense, they attempt more responsibly than any other anthologists of modern poetry to do the necessary spade-work of the good teacher; they even include a detailed essay on "myth and metaphysics," to explain the function of poetry in general as well as of the irony, "discordant" techniques, and intellectual subtleties of contemporary poets.

The editors make clear that they are aware of the danger that their conscientious explanations may divert students and other "beginners" from the poems themselves. Yeats's "Sailing to Byzantium," for instance, is a musical marvel of workmanship, not really very difficult at a primary level of reading despite the "perne in a gyre" of the climactic stanza. The notes, however, create several diversions from the necessary initial response.

But the intellectually self-disciplined reader will use the explanatory matter properly, concentrating his attention on the poems, which have been selected with sophisticated awareness of their quality and significance. Though it would have been better, perhaps, to include a wider chronological range of pieces by the most important writers, there are real compensations, such as the large number of passages from Pound's *Cantos,* the printing of "prose" passages that one hopes will accelerate the breakdown of a useless old distinction in favor of a more accurate one between poetry and non-poetry, and the courageous substitution of lesser-known poems for the stand-bys of Anthologia.

Finally, though this is not the place to treat Mr. Friar's approach to myth, and his and Mr. Brinnin's ideas on its relation to poetry and to the Metaphysical and Symbolist influences on contemporary verse, we may note that their general critical assumptions give evidence of the new tendencies toward what we might term a "responsible academicism." It has its good and its unfortunate aspects—one of the latter being the loss of that high-spirited insistence, found in such books as Elizabeth Drew's *Discovering Poetry* and A. J. M. Smith's *The Worldly Muse,* on the fact that even the most serious poetry is a delight, available to all who are willing to find it. But as represented in this valuable book, it is relevant enough to the living nature of poetry to provide a good start for the best kind of reader, no matter where he will proceed from there.

M. L. ROSENTHAL

GOVERNOR'S PORTRAIT

ADLAI STEVENSON OF ILLINOIS, by Noel F. Busch (Farrar, Straus and Young; $3.75).

CAN ADLAI STEVENSON be drafted by the Democrats for the Presidency? Noel Busch, a first-rate writer for *Life* magazine, says "yes" and tells how to do it. Mr. Busch in a foreword specifically disassociates Governor Stevenson from his own editorial assumptions, though it is evident that in the factual material he had the collaboration of the governor. The fact remains that this lively, well-written and humorous portrait of the great reform governor, who masks an inner idealism under a whimsical self-depreciation, carries a specific blueprint on how to draft Stevenson.

Internal evidence suggests that Stevenson's announcement on April 16 that he was not a candidate caught Mr. Busch half way through his manuscript. This led to a significant insertion: true, he says, Governor Stevenson is deeply committed to carrying on his reform drive in Illinois but "he *could* however be released from the obligation by others than himself—specifically by members of the Democratic National Conven-

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tion." He believes that since Stevenson is "the best candidate available in the Democratic Party . . . the questions that confronted the Democratic National Convention were, therefore, two. One was whether it really wanted the best; and the other was whether, if it did want the best, it had the courage and the common sense to get it."

Adlai Stevenson racked his conscience when Col. Jacob Arvey—the political boss of Illinois assured a place in history by his remarkable double choice—picked him to run for governor in the campaign of 1948, and Prof. Paul Douglas to run for the Senate. The result was, as everybody knows, that Truman carried the state by 34,000 votes while Stevenson ran ahead of him by a landslide majority of 572,000, the largest in history. Truman won on Stevenson's coat-tails instead of the other way round. Stevenson had made up his mind to run for governor again just before the deadline for filing. Now that he is conscientiously struggling with the thought of running for the Presidency, Stevenson has resolved he won't lift a finger for it but will accept a bona fide draft if the Democratic convention decides that way. If elected, Stevenson undoubtedly would worry—as indeed he has about his ability to be a governor—about his capacities for the Presidency. Judging by his broad international understanding; his good job as a reform governor of Illinois, the calibre of his speeches which he actually writes himself, and his liberal concepts, Mr. Busch shows such worry would be unfounded. Almost certainly if not nominated and if the Republicans win, Stevenson will figure in the race in 1956.

A distasteful subject that is bound to be widely discussed is Stevenson's 1949 divorce. The proceedings were brought by Mrs. Stevenson after "twenty years of apparently happy marriage"; the author describes the causes as "somewhat puzzling but apparently deriving from incompatibility due to increasingly divergent interests." The stated reason was that Mrs. Stevenson disliked public life. The author says, "This was a simplification but perhaps an adequate one. No other persons, and no scandal whatsoever, affected the legal proceedings. Stevenson, who opposes divorce generally, was shocked and saddened but not surprised." Neither has remarried.

Mr. Busch's lively and entertaining contribution to this book fills only about half of it; the rest is a miscellany of the governor's speeches, interviews and press statements, including a number of rousing veto messages to the state legislature. He vetoed the Broyles bill intended to ferret out subversives—a measure strongly backed by the American Legion—and wrote "the whole notion of loyalty inquisitions is a natural characteristic of the police state, not a democracy." Included also is a transcript of the sworn disposition Stevenson gave in the first Hiss trial at the Governor's office in Springfield, along with Stevenson's stirring answer explaining that

> It seems to me that it will be a very sad day for Anglo-Saxon justice when any man, and especially a lawyer, will refuse to give honest evidence in a criminal trial for fear the defendant in an action may eventually be found guilty . . . one of the basic responsibilities of any citizen, and most especially of lawyers, [is] to testify to the best of their ability on any case in which they may have evidence that either side considers relevant.

The Stevenson speeches on foreign affairs bring a strong recollection of Woodrow Wilson. There is a stirring, lucid eloquence of phrase in them. Wilson had a sense of humor, too, but it was dour and directed at others. Stevenson has developed a sort of inverted protective humor in which he makes his own supposed inadequacy the butt.

As a child Stevenson was serious and sensitive. When he yanked the china off a tablecloth he retreated in shame to a dog kennel where his parents found him asleep on the straw. When he was 12 a student at a military academy called on his older sister in the Christmas holidays and went through the manual of arms with a .22 rifle. The rifle was carefully examined to make sure it was not loaded. Adlai was given the gun to hold, tried to duplicate the motions; but the gun fired and killed his 15-year-old cousin. Subconsciously the tragedy may have induced a desire for public service that has distinguished his conscientious years.

Author Busch achieves his choice effects by understatement and amusing oblique twists: the disconcerting effect of highbrows Stevenson and Douglas on the run-of-mine Illinois Democratic precinct politicians, for example, must have been something. It speaks well for Stevenson's personality that the veteran Democratic Minority Leader Bill Connors, instead of becoming impatient with Stevenson has developed "a protective feeling", and "nurses his pet projects through the mills of legislation like a Damon Runyan gambler caring for a foundling." Adlai Stevenson's views on practically every political subject are discussed in interviews; on most of them he takes a firm liberal position.

RICHARD STROUT

LOST—FIRST RATE TALENT

THE MAN OUTSIDE, the prose works of Wolfgang Borchert (New Directions; $3.50).

WOLFGANG BORCHERT, who died in 1947, at 26, of a fever contracted either on the Russian front or in Nazi prisons, possessed an undeniably first rate talent. *The Man Outside,* even though saddled with a translation full of British colloquial and military jargon, is one of the most powerful treatments we have had of the residual human situation of the war. For Borchert spoke with a grotesque immediacy from the rubble of annihilation. He had two concerns: to identify and insist upon the guilt that resulted from every act of participation

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in the Nazi barbarity, no matter how circumstantial or unwitting; and to extract life from the numbness in which he found it. Consequently, his work oscillates between two discordant styles. It is pervaded by a moral sense of parable that verges on religious quest and also marks his weakness. His genuine achievement grows from his social subject matter and provides the better parts of his play, *Draussen vor der Tuer* (Outside at the Door), with a witty, harsh, and compassionate episodic realism, reminiscent of Buechner.

The play is both as good and bad as the best Broadway efforts of the past few years. Its protagonist, Beckmann, a veteran of Stalingrad, returns from prison camp minus a kneecap and with a recurring *totentanz* nightmare, to find his wife living with another man. The river Elbe refuses him on the grounds that despair is no longer sufficient reason for suicide. He sleeps with the girl who rescues him, only to flee when her husband returns from Russia minus a leg. His attempts to rid himself of his nightmare and to resume normal life are met everywhere with callousness and ridicule. He decides that he has been murdered, and when he finds out that the girl's husband has killed himself, concludes that he is also a murderer.

The style used to present the action brilliantly illuminates the central question of Beckmann's right to suicide, but with it comes a hazy religious trauma to which the play probably owes its success in Germany. Borchert's constant preoccupation with exclusion, with being denied the world inside the door, leads him to metaphysical violence. God is reviled for His impotence, and indeed appears in the play as a feeble old man "in whom no one believes any longer," along with The Other, Beckmann's hope-preaching alter ego. The play ends in rhetorical nihilism, with Beckmann challenging God to exist. The final result, unfortunately, is what the Viennese call sour kitsch. As in *Death of a Salesman,* a spurious pretense of meaningfulness negates the force of indignation and sociological perception. Borchert's self-righteous German audience found in his play an ideal opportunity to expiate enormities by wallowing in spirituality, a phenomenon not unknown in this country. THEODORE HOFFMAN

UNORTHODOX ANALYSIS

A CREED FOR FREE ENTERPRISE, by Clarence B. Randall (Atlantic-Little, Brown; $2.75).

BUSINESSMEN WRITING on the subject of free enterprise are apt to be dull and superficial. Few industrial executives have made real contributions to public understanding of the motives and inner workings of business. Nor have corporation officials been noted for an ability at critical self-analysis.

This book avoids some of the pitfalls that trap industrialists when they take pen in hand to explain our economic system and to criticize recent Federal policies. Recognizing that businessmen usually are victims of group prejudice and pattern-mindedness, which they decry in others, Mr. Randall, president of the Inland Steel Company, is both unconventional and thought-provoking.

Instead of a careful analysis of business enterprise or a well-developed philosophy of management, the author, who served as the industry's respondent to President Truman's radio speech on the steel crisis, ranges (almost rambles) over a wide variety of subjects. Despite the book's title and rather extended scope, the weaknesses of modern capitalism, various proposals for its reform, or the shortcomings of alternative systems, are not discussed.

The most stimulating and rewarding chapters are those dealing with preparation for executive positions, business support of private colleges, American aid to Europe, and compulsory retirement for executives. Least satisfactory are the chapters on labor unions and government, where the author seems to suffer from lack of information and bias.

Part of the trouble arises from failure to define terms. Company bargaining that sets wage patterns is erroneously called industry-wide bargaining. Labor agreements limiting management authority are considered to be pushing the country toward collectivism, a term which is promiscuously applied to conditions that the author dislikes.

Sometimes Mr. Randall fails to examine both sides of an issue or indulges in a sweeping statement that astounds the reader. The tenure of union officials is viewed unfavorably without mention of that enjoyed by top executives in large firms. Price competition is advocated, but nothing is said about steel price policies except in Great Britain. Professors are assumed to "leap to the regimentation of businessmen with joy," and unionists are presumed to have infiltrated "into every federal agency" to a degree not matched by recruits from business.

Encouragement should be given to the author's plea for more reflection and non-industrial experience by businessmen. Democracy needs breadth of understanding and the clash of well-reasoned views. And business has much to teach college professors, if emphasis is placed on analysis rather than indoctrination and if business leaders seriously pursue self-examination. RICHARD A. LESTER

A MUSIC MISCELLANY

THE CONCISE OXFORD DICTIONARY OF MUSIC, by Percy A. Scholes (Oxford; $6).

Since most reliable musical dictionaries and encyclopedias are cumbersome, expensive works, there has been—until recently—a need for a compact but accurate musical source book. This need was supplied only a few years ago by Apel's *Harvard Dictionary of Music*, a book which is still up-to-date, and to my knowledge, still in print. Dr. Scholes' new dictionary is superior to the Harvard only in that it contains biographical data which are entirely absent in the Apel work. The general absence of pertinent detail is in keeping with the author's intention.

Dr. Scholes has allowed himself the luxury of making editorial comments which sometimes qualify the value of his dictionary as an accurate source. He informs the reader that someone is the "World's greatest 'cellist," that one composer is "the Shakespeare of music," and that the works of another "now enjoy the highest admiration of every music lover." Such statements are useless at

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best; but when Scholes says that Walter Piston writes music "tending to atonality," he is circulating misinformation which hasn't the slightest basis in fact. Though serious errors in this dictionary are not numerous, until corrections are made, the book can not be consulted as a final authority.

CHILDREN AND MUSIC, by Beatrice Landeck (Sloane; $3.50).

Quite justifiably Beatrice Landeck, who has had some twenty years of experience as a teacher of children, believes that music has generally been offered to children on a level which is exalted to the point of being demoralizing, that teachers have been unwilling to admit that their young pupils are usually not exceptionally talented. As an antidote to this kind of training, Mrs. Landeck recommends an approach which is much less self-consciously musical, and deals with music on a relatively simple level. She feels that children are more susceptible to music as a folk art than as a fine art; that they can not only enjoy, but also they can participate in folk music while they are very young. This experience does not subject them to irritating snob-values that are so likely to make music seem remote. In her view, the composition of little songs by children can be as important as their drawing or painting, and she quotes examples of children's work which are frequently quite engaging. But in her enthusiasm for her own method, Mrs. Landeck has neglected to observe that older, patently more self-conscious teaching methods have produced a large and surprisingly wise audience for music in its fine art forms, and that as one of its main charms, this music has been so highly contrived for centuries that the average listener cannot effectively participate in its performance.

MODERN MUSIC MAKERS, by Madeleine Goss (Dutton; $10).

Modern Music Makers is an audacious book in every way; the author and the publishers are to be congratulated for their presumption, if for nothing else. The most extraordinary thing about the book is, of course, its price, which would be exorbitant even if the work were packed with useful information; as it is, the piece is riddled with inaccuracies from cover to cover. Some of these stem from what must have been a very casual proof reading; others must have resulted from careless research or profound ignorance on the part of the author. The book deals with thirty-seven composers, all of them American, and most of them still alive. Each of them is represented by a photograph, a biographical sketch, and a comprehensive list of works. Some of the photographs are very funny, but the biographical sketches, which are caricatures at best, are not funny at all. The author's leaden touch can miraculously transform the most elegant and brilliant musician into a pompous fool before your very eyes. The author has mercifully refrained from subjecting the music to the devastating treatment she gives the composers. Her biographical sketches are impartial and, I suspect, conceived without malice, yet calculated viciousness could not be more deadily than her enthusiasm.

THE SATURDAY REVIEW HOME BOOK OF RECORDED MUSIC AND SOUND REPRODUCTION, edited by Irving Kolodin (Prentice-Hall; $4.50).

The music critics of the *Saturday Review* have collaborated to produce a strange book with a rather misleading title; the body of the work is not concerned with music at all, but with the technical aspects of sound reproduction. Edward Tatnall Canby has supplied a great deal of information on the history of the phonograph record and on modern recording techniques. C. G. Burke's essay is concerned with high-fidelity sound equipment, and offers useful advice to anyone who can afford to assemble a really fine phonograph from parts bought separately.

The last section of the book is a piece by Irving Kolodin called "Learning to Listen and Listening to Learn," and advises the listener how to choose one recorded performance in preference to another. Assuming that the reader has no taste of his own, Mr. Kolodin, in the best pontifical tradition, has appended a list of recommended recordings which should confuse even the most ingenuous listener, and which should be carefully avoided by all. ROBERT EVETT

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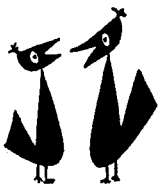

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